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*The Name of the Ninth Kassite Ruler**

No continuous list of the Kassite dynasty is extant. Of its early rulers, King List A contains the names of only the first six, and the Synchronistic List, the first thirteen, but the name of the eleventh king is destroyed, and the name of the ninth is damaged. The purported inscription of Agum (II) Kakrime seemed to point to him as the ninth Kassite ruler. However, Weidner's reading of it as ^mA-gu-u[m] (in 1926) proved to be wrong upon the collation of the much eroded tablet by Kraus (in 1949), so that Weidner had to retract it (in 1960). The entry has remained vacant. However, the traces of the original signs visible in the collated copy of the line can be restored as ^mr^kak¹-r¹ri¹-[m-m]e, which is a variant spelling of *ka-ak-ri-me*, the epithet or agnomen of Agum II. This reading would fill a gap in the sequence of the early Kassite kings, confirm the chronological position of Agum II, and provide a possible new etymology of his second name.

The Kassite dynasty lasted longer than any other royal house in Lower Mesopotamia, but the early and middle parts of its duration belong to the most obscure in Babylonian history. As it is known, no complete list of Kassite kings is extant. King List A is the only document which originally included the names of all rulers of the Kassite dynasty along with the number of regnal years of each of them, but the middle part of the section is missing and all that remains are six royal names at its beginning and twelve royal names at its end, with a summary "576 (years) 9 months, 36 king[s . . .]."¹ The names of the remaining eighteen rulers and their presumable sequential positions must be pieced together from a variety of other sources, both contemporary and later.² Among these, the Neo-Assyrian Synchronistic King List from Assur (A.117)³ may be used for extending the number of early Kassite kings known by name over and above the six transmitted by the King List A. It should be noted that the synchronistic value of the relevant section of A.117 is nil: its compiler simply copied, from a Babylonian list related to King List A, the names of the kings of the First Sealand dynasty and the early Kassite dynasty (which he considered

consecutive rather than overlapping) and mechanically correlated them with Assyrian kings from Adasi to Aššur-šaduni. He arrived at such absurdities as making Šamši-Adad (II), to whom the Assyrian King List gives only six regnal years, the contemporary of eight Kassite kings (Nos. 2 to 9) who ruled for a hundred and fifty years or more. But the enumeration of Babylonian kings in A.117 is valuable in its own right, for it lists more royal names, and often with better renderings, than the extant copy of King List A.⁴

There is an approximate agreement between the Synchronistic King List and King List A with regard to the first six Kassite rulers, though there is a discrepancy concerning the rulers nos. 4 and 5.⁵ The Synchronistic List contained seven further Kassite royal names, but they have all suffered, to a greater or lesser extent, from the poor state of preservation of the tablet when it was deposited in the museum and the continued deterioration of its surface.⁶ Weidner's

* An abbreviated version of this paper was presented at the 195th meeting of the American Oriental Society at Ann Arbor, April 14–17, 1985.

¹ Hand copy (by C. J. Gadd) CT 36, pl. 24–25; translation by A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*², p. 272.

² These materials have been fully collected and examined by J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, vol. I (Chicago, 1976), referred to hereinafter as *MSKH* I.

³ In the Istanbul Museum; original inventory number Assur 1461c. Published in full, from a photograph provided by the museum, by E. F. Weidner, "Die grosse Königsliste aus Assur," *Afo* 3 (1926): 66–77 (hand copy pp. 70–71); hereinafter "Königsliste." Translation by A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*², pp. 272–74.

⁴ Several names of kings of the Sea Land dynasty and the latter part of the Kassite dynasty, which are abridged in King List A, appear in full in the Synchronistic List.

⁵ King List A has ^mr^Uš¹-šⁱ A-š^ú ("his [= the preceding ruler's] son") as No. 4 and ^mA-bi-rat-taš as No. 5; the Synchronistic List has ^mA-bi-r[a]-taš as No. 4 and ^mKaš-til-a-š^ú as No. 5. A. Ungnad's suggestion, quoted by Weidner, "Königsliste," p. 74 n. 4, that the name No. 4 in King List A should be read ^mKaš¹-til¹-[ia]-šⁱ A-š^ú or ^mKaš¹-til¹-a-š^ú, is refuted by the latest collation which shows that the first two signs of the name are indeed ^ruš¹ and šⁱ; see A. K. Grayson, "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments," in *lišān mithurti: Festschrift W. von Soden* (AOAT 1, 1969), pp. 108, 116.

⁶ F. R. Kraus, who collated the tablet in 1949, wrote to Weidner (see n. 28 below): "The obverse of the list is in a sad state, its surface is not effaced but destroyed by deposits, soft and crumbling, doomed to disintegration." This process had

readings of the names Nos. 7 and 8 as ^m*Har-ba-[šī²-p]ak⁷* and ^m*Ti-ip-ia²-[a]k-zi⁸* were found not inconsistent with their remaining faint traces,⁹ but the name No. 11 was totally destroyed and has been left blank to this day,¹⁰ and the name No. 9—the one that interests us now—was so damaged that Weidner miscopied and misinterpreted it in his 1926 edition of the tablet. In reading it ^m*A-gu-[u]m*, Weidner (although he did not mention it at the time) was influenced by the royal genealogy in a lengthy inscription (originally of almost 400 lines) in the name of a Babylonian Kassite king called [*A-gu-um*] *Ka-ak-ri-me* in its first line and *A-gu-um* in three subsequent passages.¹¹ The inscription has come to us in a

far advanced when Brinkman examined the tablet in 1971: see *MSKH* I, under the names of the kings in question.

⁷ Weidner's restoration of the missing third and damaged fourth sign was based on later Kassite royal names *Harbe-šipak* and *Meli-šipak* and other Kassite personal names containing these elements, on which cf. K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*: I. *Die Sprache der Kassiten* (AOS 37, 1954), pp. 106–7, 114–15. Some scholars, including Balkan, read the last sign *hu*; others, including Brinkman, prefer the reading *pak*.

⁸ Along with [*a*]k, Weidner, "Königsliste," p. 68 n. 1, did not exclude the possibility of reading [*b*]ar. A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," *JCS* 18 (1964): 97 n. 1, noted concerning the missing name of the ruler No. 7 in King List A that "the remnant at the end may indicate a -[z]i" (and thus point to *Tiptakzi* in this spot; thus) "the order of 7 and 8 may have to be reversed in one of the texts." But according to Grayson's collation (see n. 5 above), "the traces at the end of the line suggest [Š]EŠ 'brother' as at the end of i 8."

⁹ According to Brinkman's inspection of the tablet, *MSKH* I, p. 327.

¹⁰ The only attempt to fill the gap was made by F. J. Stephens in a news release dated April 21, 1934, and reproduced, in a totally different connection, in H. H. Hallo, "The First Purim," *BA* 46 (1983): 27. He placed there *Hašmar-galšu*, whose Sumerian dedicatory inscriptions had been found in the Ekur temple of Nippur. According to Brinkman, *MSKH* I, pp. 325–27, 379, the man was a ruler of some kind but his chronological position is uncertain. The difficulty of placing *Hašmar-galšu* between No. 10, Burnaburiaš I, and No. 12, Kaštiliaš II/III, who almost certainly was Burnaburiaš's son, consists in *Hašmar-galšu* being the son of Malab-*Harbe*. One would expect a regent for an underage prince to be a close relative of the deceased king. Nevertheless, this objection does not necessarily rule out Stephens' hypothesis.

¹¹ Copied by Th. G. Pinches in V R 33. A copy of a partial and poorly preserved duplicate was given in R. Campbell

copy made, according to its colophon, for the library of Ashurbanipal. It states that King Agum brought the statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum from the land of the Haneans back to Babylon. It also describes his renovation of Esagila, and lists the precious garments, works of arts, and pieces of jewelry bestowed upon the temple, as well as tax exemptions granted to a priest, a metal worker, and a third person. Agum calls himself son of UR-*ši-gu-ru-maš*, who was the descendant (*liblibhu*, here to be understood as grandson) of *A-bi-ri-at-šaš*, the son of *Kaš-til-ia-šu¹*, the elder son of Agum the Great, or the Elder (*ša A-gu-um ra-bi-i*).¹² The potential historical importance of the inscription is very considerable; for generations, it has been used for correlating the Kassite takeover of Babylon with the Hittite raid upon that city and the end of its First dynasty. It is true that Landsberger declared it "apocryphal,"¹³ in which he was followed by Gelb¹⁴ and Grayson,¹⁵ while Borger¹⁶ only agreed that it "could be" a later composition. But none of these scholars found it necessary to present the lexical, orthographic, stylistic

Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930), pl. 36. The inscription was transliterated, translated, and annotated by P. Jensen, *KB III/1*. (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 134–53, with the use of C. Bezold's and his own collations. Unfortunately, there are no more recent publications. Brinkman, *MSKH* I, 97, announced the preparation of a new edition for a subsequent volume of the series.

¹² Quoted text, I:13–19. For the reading of the damaged or indistinct royal names see Brinkman, *MSKH* I, s.v.v.; note also *ibid.*, p. 128: "The reading of the oldest cited ancestor of Agum-kakrime as '(son of) Gandi' (DUMU *Gan-di*) in V R 33 i 22 is erroneous. Collation shows that the first sign is definitely not DUMU and the sign just before *re-e-ú* is unlikely to be *di*."

¹³ B. Landsberger, "Das gute Wort," *MAOG* 4 (1928–1929): 312 ("die ganze Inschrift wohl Fälschung"); "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter,'" *JCS* 8 (1954) 65 n. 160, 67, 116.

¹⁴ I. J. Gelb, "The Date of the Cruciform Monument of Maništušū," *JNES* 8 (1949): 348 n. 12, where he merely included the Agum-kakrime inscription (with no other substantiation than a reference to "MAOG IV [1928–29] 312") among "some similar forgeries dealing with alleged acts of piety and large endowments established for the benefit of temples."

¹⁵ Article cited in n. 5, p. 108: "The document is not an original inscription of this king but a later invention," again with no proof but reference to Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954): 67.

¹⁶ R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten: Zwei prophetische Texte," *BiOr* 28 (1981): 17, on the grounds that "Landsberger, *JCS* 8, p. 67f. and 116 described it as apocryphal."

tic, grammatical, or factual features of the inscription which they considered incompatible with its attribution to sixteenth century Babylonia.¹⁷ Conversely, there are several reasons to assume that V R 33 is a transcript of a genuine inscription of Agum II. Already Jensen¹⁸ made the pertinent observation: "The beginnings of columns in the [Babylonian original] are marked in the copy. Since the columns, accordingly, must have been of unequal length, the inscription could not have been written on a cylinder or a slab but was rather incised upon a statue." Diakonoff¹⁹ and Cassin²⁰ examined the geographical content of Agum II's title²¹ and have concluded that the extent of that king's dominions exactly corresponds to the actual situation of the early Kassite period. One must agree that the title is so consistent and unusual that no forger of a later age is likely to have invented it. Other considerations can be added. The inscription does not deal with alleged land

grants and was therefore not intended to support the temple's claims to real estate. The list of furnishings, utensils, and ornaments granted by Agum II to Esagila shows no signs of exaggeration for propaganda purposes and is actually rather short and modest in comparison with the enormous list of expensive gifts sent to Egypt by Tušratta of Mitanni.²² Most of the materials used (gold, silver, bronze, copper, and several kinds of precious and semiprecious stones) recur in the enumeration of presents from a later Kassite king (probably Burnaburiaš II) to his Egyptian counterpart.²³ The list of Agum II's gifts is very similar to the inventories of the temple of Nin-egal at Qatna (sixteenth and fifteenth centuries).²⁴ Finally, the fact that—in an inscription celebrating the return of Marduk and his consort to Babylon—the Kassite god Šuqamuna is mentioned first, and Marduk is listed after Anum, Enlil, and Ea, stands in perfect agreement with the official religion of the Kassite period;²⁵ after Marduk's exaltation in the early post-Kassite age,²⁶ no forger, least of all a priest of Esagila, could have displayed such an attitude.

We can thus understand why Weidner thought to have discerned the name ^mA-gu-[u]m in the damaged line 1b:18 of the Synchronistic List.²⁷ But later he began to doubt and, in

¹⁷ As one of them, Gelb, did with regard to the Cruciform Monument of Maništušu. As for Landsberger, he wrote in his 1954 study (see n. 13), p. 116: "According to the low chronology, if one trusts the figure 24 [of Marduk's "sojourn in the Hittite land" in a post-Kassite religious text, for which see Borger, study cited in n. 16], the return of Marduk to Babylon would fall in 1507; this looks like a glaring confirmation of that chronology, for according to the synchronism of [the Assyrian king] No. 61 with Burnaburiaš I, the son (or grandson?) of Agum II, it was possible, at a pinch, for the second Agum to be still alive in 1507." But since Landsberger advocated an ultra-high chronology, he preferred to "assume that according to the tradition which lies at the base of our legend, Marduk was brought back not by Agum II but by Agum I." In other words, he labeled the Agum-kakrime inscription "apocryphal" not on the grounds of philology but rather of his system of chronology.

¹⁸ Edition cited in n. 11 above, p. 134 n. 1.

¹⁹ I. M. Diakonoff, *Istorija Midii* [History of Media] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1956), pp. 126–27, and in greater detail in his contribution to *Istorija drevnego Vostoka* [History of Ancient East] (Moscow, 1983), pp. 418–20.

²⁰ E. Cassin in *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, 3 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1966), pp. 15–16. Similarly, A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," *JCS* 18 (1964): 98 (even though he, too, favored a system of high chronology). Among other Assyriologists who accepted the genuineness of the Agum-kakrime inscription, were F. H. Weissbach, *RLA* 1, p. 43; E. F. Weidner, "Die älteren Kassiten-Könige," *Afo* 19 (1959–1960): 138 ("That it is a forgery, as Landsberger, *MAOG* 4, p. 312, believes, is not evident to me"); and C. J. Gadd, *CAH* II³, 1, p. 226. Good arguments for the authenticity of the source of V R 33 were adduced by M. B. Rowton, "The Date of Hammurabi," *JNES* 17 (1958) 103.

²¹ V R 33 1:31–43.

²² EA 22. Compare also EA 14—list of presents from Amenhotep IV to Burnaburiaš II.

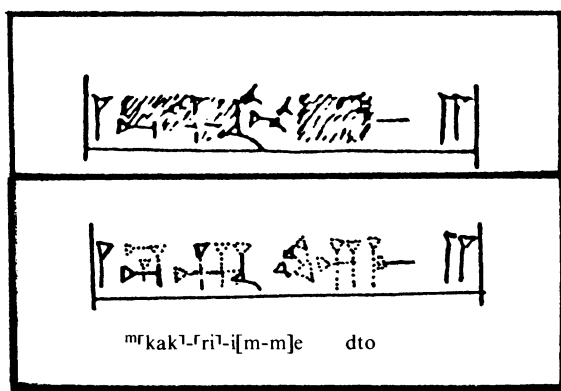
²³ EA 13. Unfortunately, the left part of the tablet, which contained most of the names of the objects, is missing.

²⁴ Ch. Virolleaud summarized the character and the contents of the inventories in "Les tablettes cunéiformes de Mishrifé-Qatna," *Syria* 9 (1928): 90–96, and published inventory No. 1 in "Les tablettes de Mishrifé-Qatna," *ibid.* 11 (1930): 311–42, but he was prevented from completing the publication by his dedication to the newly discovered Ras Shamra texts. The work was resumed and completed by J. Bottéro, "Les inventaires de Qatna," *RA* 43 (1949): 1–40, 137–215; *ibid.*, 44 (1950): 105–22.

²⁵ Cf. Cassin, work cited in n. 20, pp. 62–65.

²⁶ Cf. W. G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchdnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion," in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Theophile J. Meek*, ed. by W. S. McCullough (Toronto, 1964), pp. 3–13; *idem*, "Enmeduranki and Related Matter," *JCS* 21 (1967): 126–27; Borger, study cited in n. 16, pp. 21–22.

²⁷ To be sure, the ruler No. 9 is separated by two entries from UR-*zi-gu-ru-maš* whom Agum-kakrime (V R 33 1:2, 13) calls his father (in the spelling UR-*ši-gu-ru-maš*). But these two men, Harba[ši]pak and Tiptakzi, are thought to have been URzigurumaš's brothers who acted, in turn, as regents for his son; thus, e.g., Cassin, work cited in n. 20, p. 16. This view seems to be corroborated by Grayson's reading [Š]EŠ "brother" after the now missing name of the ruler who followed ^mUR-*zi-U-maš* in King List A (see n. 8 above).



1949, asked F. R. Kraus to collate for him the first column of the original tablet at Istanbul. Beside reporting on the dismal condition of the obverse of the list, Kraus informed Weidner that "the traces are absolutely unsuitable for Agum." Ten years later Weidner published this conclusion along with a new copy of the line (from the same 1925 photograph and Kraus's collation) and a retraction of his previous reading. The copy shows that the first sign could by no means be an *a*, nor the last sign an *um*; only the middle sign was still seen by Weidner as a *gu*.²⁸ In 1971, Brinkman collated anew the tablet and found that "the supposed -*gu*- is not certain."²⁹ The discovery that the name in the ninth entry of the Kassite list was not *Agum* was, in Weidner's words, "the more regrettable because it brought upon the collapse of a pillar for setting the chronology of the older Kassite time." But Goetze, though he acknowledged this fact, nevertheless persisted in affirming that "there is no reason whatever for rejecting the historicity of Agum II and, therefore we feel justified in counting him as Kassite No. 9."³⁰ Can this contradiction be solved?

I think that it can, if the Weidner-Kraus copy of what remains of the name is examined without prejudice and if one remembers that Agum II had a second name. In the drawing enclosed, the upper line is an enlarged xerox reproduction of the said copy; in the lower line, the remaining vestiges of the signs are drawn in solid lines and my reconstructions of their missing parts are shown in dotted lines. If some of the wedges appearing in the first line are not repeated in the second, this means that they are considered to be cracks and pits of the eroded surface. The first sign is *kak*; only the little transversal

wedge is missing. Instead of the supposed *gu* I see in the middle of the name the well-preserved right side of *ri* and traces of the rest of the sign, followed by the leftmost slanted wedges of *im*, the rest of which is destroyed. Finally, the thin line at the end of the name is the tail of the horizontal wedge of *me*. Thus the name spells ^{mr}*kak*¹-^{ri}*ri*¹-[*m-m*]e, which is a perfectly acceptable orthographic variant of *ka-ak-ri-me*. Consequently, one of the frustrating gaps in the sequence of Kassite kings is filled, the historicity of Agum II Kakrime is confirmed, and the pillar of early Kassite chronology, the collapse of which was regretted by Weidner, is reinstated in its rightful place.³¹

The new spelling of the second name, or epithet, of Agum II may also contribute to our understanding of its etymology. In dealing with it, we are, of course, on a rather uncertain ground, but since proposals concerning it have already been made, the topic may be taken up again. The circumstance that *kakrime* follows *Agum* only in the first line of the inscription,³² but afterwards the king is called simply *Agum*, indicates that *kakrime* was not a real part of his personal name but some kind of an epithet (agnomen). Balkan considered it Kassite and assumed that "the meaning 'the second' is to be deduced from Agum I being called in this inscription *Agum mahrû* 'the first Agum.'"³³ But the phrase *Agum mahrû* (^m*A-gu-um* IGI) does not appear in "this inscription" (V R 33); it occurs in King List A, while in V R 33 the earlier Agum is called, as we have seen, "Agum the Great" (^{ša} *A-gu-um ra-bi-i*).³⁴ Thus the alleged juxtaposition of *mahrû* and *kakrime* disappears, and with it goes Balkan's interpretation of the latter term. Besides, why would the compiler of an inscription in pure Babylonian Akkadian use a Kassite word for an epithet that was supposed to be understandable to the general Babylonian public? Diakonoff's attribution of *kakrime* to the Akkadian language is much more plausible. He understood it as *kak rēme* "Sword of Mercy."³⁵ But, even

³¹ One may suppose that the Babylonian source utilized by the compiler of the Synchronistic List had *A-gu-um kak-ri-im-me* in the relevant spot, but the compiler, who had a very narrow space (half the width of a column) at his disposal and gave each king no more than a line, had room for only one component of the double name.

³² As a matter of fact, the signs that preceded *ka-ak-ri-me* in the first line of V R 33 are now missing, but there is no doubt that they read [*A-gu-um*]. The space is exactly sufficient for these signs, and Jensen saw the final vertical wedge of *um*.

³³ K. Balkan (work cited in n. 7), p. 157. This interpretation is also quoted in Gadd, *CAH* II³, I, p. 226 n. 7.

³⁴ See n. 12 above.

³⁵ I. M. Diakonoff, *Istorija Midii*, p. 126; idem, in *Istorija drevnego Vostoka* I, p. 418 (see n. 19).

²⁸ "Die älteren Kassiten-Könige," *AfO* 19 (1959-1960) 138.

²⁹ Brinkman, *MSKH* I, p. 98.

³⁰ A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," *JCS* 18 (1964) 98.

if we leave aside the uneasiness of the combination of such not very compatible notions as “sword” and “mercy,” for which I can find no parallels in Assyro-Babylonian phraseology, the new spelling with its reduplicated *m* shows that the second part of the epithet is not *rēmu*, which is never spelled that way, but should rather be seen as *rimmu* “roar, thunder,” which is found written both with a single and a double *m*.³⁶ “Weapon of Thunder” or, in more idiomatic English, “Thunderbolt,” is a fitting honorific epithet of a warrior king. In later ages, agnomina of precisely that meaning

were borne by the Macedonian king Ptolemaios Keraunos, the Carthaginian commander-in-chief Hamilcar Barca, and the Ottoman sultan Beyazit Yıldırım.

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³⁶ For some occurrences of both spellings, cf. *AHw*, p. 986, s.v.